

unforeseen events require additional humanitarian assistance and resources, they not come from the Afghan program.

3. An early comprehensive settlement which would lead to repatriation to and reconstruction of Afghanistan seems beyond reach at the present time. In point of fact, Afghan history and tradition would indicate that such an approach is probably not realistic. Any eventual settlement will tend to be diverse in nature, with local and regional interests emerging, in contrast to a highly centralized authority in Kabul. When permitted, Afghans in the past have often made choices that ensure a weaker, rather than a stronger, central government.

4. Given the above, and recognizing that there are today areas in Afghanistan relatively free of conflict and of deadly land mines, we recommend that the repatriation and reconstruction effort be approached on a sector by sector basis, without waiting for or anticipating the establishment of a dominant central authority in Kabul.

This approach, called "building blocks" by some, and "zones of tranquility" by others, should be pursued by the international agencies, the private voluntary agencies and the Afghan leadership concerned. Refugees, through a variety of incentives, should be encouraged to return to their homes in peace and security, but only to areas that are both secure and sufficiently



rehabilitated to receive them.

5. In order for this to happen, there needs to be a sustained and systematic effort at the local level, using a diversity of multiple approaches, to create conditions suitable for return. The elements for this include, but are not limited to, the following:

- a) An effective mine awareness training program and an effective de-mining effort. The efforts to date, especially de-mining, are viewed as not meeting expectations. There should be a specific, sector by sector, time frame for de-mining, which is a prerequisite to repatriation. Refugees will not return to mine infested areas, nor should they.
- b) The repairing of destroyed or decayed infrastructure, especially irrigation systems and roads, in order to restore agricultural self-sufficiency. In addition, clean water supplies will be critical to all.
- c) The provision of agricultural tools, seeds, fertilizers, draft animals and equipment, to bring fields left fallow back to life. Direct food aid may also be needed in certain sectors where the food deficit has reached critical proportions.



d) Assistance to returning refugees to rehabilitate their homes, many deserted for a decade. Of particular concern is the need for roof beams, either of wood (in short supply) or manufactured.

e) The provision, in areas being rehabilitated, of basic health care and education systems. Special attention must be paid to the needs of the most vulnerable groups, women, children, the elderly and the handicapped and disabled, casualties of the war.

6. In the interim, it is vital to assure the continued well-being of the refugees still in exile. Reports of shortfalls in the supply of wheat are worrisome. The refugee's "food basket" of rations has already been reduced, with the elimination of sugar, tea and edible oils. The donor countries, the United Nations and the Government of Pakistan need to coordinate their efforts to assure that there is no shortfall in wheat deliveries.

7. Attention should be paid as well to refugee populations who appear to be under-served, such as the new arrivals and those in the remote areas of North and South Waziristan. An effort should be made to assure equality of services to all the refugees, regardless of their location.

8. In anticipation of their returning, it is highly desirable to



continue intensive training programs for refugees who will be the future leaders of Afghanistan. In particular, vocational training in engineering, paramedical skills, teaching, public administration and small business enterprises are of extreme value. On a less technical level, but of equal importance, programs of health education and hygiene, especially for women and children, as well as immunization, should be encouraged. Primary, secondary and advanced schooling for as many of the refugees as possible, both boys and girls, should also be emphasized.

9. The process whereby many Afghans are being trained to take responsible positions in relief and rehabilitation programs should be encouraged. There is genuine progress towards increased Afghan participation in these efforts. It should be recognized, however, that there are distinct advantages in maintaining a significant degree of international participation in these endeavors. Outside expertise will not only remain necessary for the speedy reconstruction and rehabilitation of Afghanistan but historically the presence of outside sources, acting as mediators, has proven to be both beneficial and desirable to Afghans.

10. There needs to be better linkage between programs assisting refugees "in situ," training programs preparing them to return, and rehabilitation programs inside Afghanistan. This especially



relates to the allocation of scarce funds and the flexibility needed to move funds from one program to another, according to need.

At present funds are most often "earmarked" by donors for a specific program, resulting in an inability to respond rapidly and effectively to a changing situation. Whenever possible, program administrators should have the ability to allocate or transfer funds within the overall program in the most responsive and responsible way. The effort, from care and maintenance in the camps to training for repatriation to rehabilitation inside the country to actual return of refugees should be seen as a continuum, with the agreed upon primary objective always being the earliest return of as many refugees who are willing to voluntarily go home as possible.

11. It is inevitable that a multitude of organizations, international agencies, governments, private voluntary organizations and indigenous groups, would be involved in this massive humanitarian effort. None the less, there appears to be widespread agreement on the desirability for the United Nations Special Coordinator to play a more active role. We urge the Coordinator to seize this unique opportunity, and strengthen the presence of his office, especially in Pakistan.

We note that the Coordinator's plan of action for 1990 calls for



the return of one million refugees during the year. This seems overly ambitious, given the objective conditions that prevail. However, we endorse the Coordinator's step by step approach to repatriation (zones of tranquility) and encourage his initiatives in this regard. We also and urge greater attention to, both mine awareness and de-mining. The latter, in particular, is proceeding too slowly and needs more rapid and effective implementation. Mines are clearly within the Coordinator's operational mandate, and their elimination is the linchpin in the whole repatriation effort.

### Conclusion

Many of the recommendations in this report echo those made by the Commission in its earlier reports following previous missions. Certain "givens" in the Afghan situation have not changed in the past two years, while much of the rest of the world has changed dramatically and radically.

The stakes, however, are too high and the commitment too long and enduring to give in to "donor fatigue," or to walk away from the Afghan cause at this juncture. While realizing that the Afghan people will ultimately be responsible for determining their own destiny, we believe it is both possible and right to stay the course in our commitment to their return home in safety and their long term political, social and economic development.



Citizen Commission on Afghan RefugeesMembers of the Delegation of the Third MissionMarch 5-13, 1990

Dr. James C. Strickler - Head of the Delegation, Former Dean of Dartmouth Medical College and currently Professor of Medicine at the School; Member of the Board of Directors of the National Council for International Health, Member of the Board of Directors and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the International Rescue Committee.

The Hon. Winston Lord - Former United States Ambassador to the People's Republic of China; Former President of the Council on Foreign Relations; Former Director, Policy Planning Staff, U.S. Department of State; Member of the Board of Directors and Executive Committee of the International Rescue Committee.

Dr. Abdul Sajid - Director of International Health and Division Chief for the World Health Organization Collaborating Center at the University of Texas Medical Branch in Galveston. Member of the Board of Directors of the National Council for International Health.



Thomas Gouttierre - Dean of International Studies and Programs at the University of Nebraska at Omaha and the University of Nebraska Medical Center.

Nancy Hatch Dupree - Director, ACBAR Resource Information Center; Distinguished Scholar and Researcher on Afghanistan.

Robert P. DeVecchi - Executive Director of the International Rescue Committee.



Citizen Commission on Afghan Refugees  
Persons Visited on its Third Mission  
March 5-13, 1990

Government of Pakistan

Major General (Rtd.) Agha Zulfiqar Ali, Chief Coordinator  
(Rehabilitation and Reconstruction) for Afghanistan  
and Chief Commissioner for Afghan Refugees

Gulzar Khan, Commissioner for Afghan Refugees, North West  
Frontier Province

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)

In Geneva - Thorvald Stoltenberg, the High Commissioner  
Douglas Stafford, Deputy High Commissioner  
Hiroshi Matsumoto, Chef de Cabinet  
Carrol Faubert, Head of Operational Unit for  
Repatriation to Afghanistan  
Juan Amunategui, Head of Regional Bureau for South  
West Asia, North Africa and the Middle East  
David T. Jamieson, Head of Desk I for Pakistan and  
Afghanistan



In Islamabad - Rene Van Royen, Representative for Pakistan  
Pierce Gerety, Deputy Representative for Pakistan

In Peshawar - Tony Land, Head of Sub-Office  
Mark E. Ice, Senior Repatriation Officer

United Nations Coordinator for Humanitarian and Economic  
Assistance Programs Relating to Afghanistan - (UNOCA)

In Geneva - Prince Sadrudin Aga Khan, the Coordinator  
Stefan de Mistura, Chief of External Relations  
Albert Namas, Chief, Mine Awareness Program

In Pakistan - Martin Barber, Representative in Pakistan  
Michael Keating, Deputy Representative

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)

Lief Rosenhall, Senior Project Officer, Afghan  
Program

United Nations Program for the Rehabilitation and Reconstruction  
of Afghanistan (UNDP)

Robert W. Eaton, Deputy Program Manager



Citizens Commission on Afghan RefugeesThird Mission ReportMarch 5-13, 1990Introduction

This is the third report of the Citizens Commission on Afghan Refugees which was established in May, 1988. A delegation of the Commission visited Pakistan from March 5 to 11, and Geneva from March 12 to 13, meeting with leading Afghan, Pakistan, United Nations, diplomatic and private voluntary agency officials, as well as with hundreds of Afghan refugees. Their findings, conclusions and recommendations are included in this report.

Executive Summary

In the nearly two years that have passed since the Geneva Accords which were to settle the "Afghan Situation," peace and security have not returned to Afghanistan. Only a few of the 3.2 million Afghan refugees in Pakistan and the more than 2 million in Iran have gone home. While Soviet forces have left, fighting continues, creating new refugees. The regime in Kabul, although weakened, has not fallen. The resistance, successful in waging war, has found making peace more difficult. An early, comprehensive settlement seems, at present, beyond reach.



Agency Coordinating Body for Afghan Relief (ACBAR)

Anders Fange, Acting Chairman

Peter Rees, Member at Large

Ted Albers, Executive Coordinator

Islamic Afghan Interim Government

Sibghatullah Mojaddidi, President

United States Embassy, Islamabad

Robert B. Oakley, Ambassador

Phyllis Oakley, AID Program for Afghanistan

Jack Miller, Deputy AID Representative

Marisa Lino, Counselor for Refugee Affairs

William Lenderking, Counselor for Public Affairs

Terry Pflaumer, Political Officer

United States Consulate, Peshawar

Gerald Feierstein, Consul General

Henry Cushing, AID Afghan Affairs

Thomas H. Eighmy, AID Afghan Affairs



United States Mission to the United Nations, Geneva

Morris Abram, Ambassador

Michael Carpenter, Refugee Counsellor

Save the Children Federation

Sultan Aziz, Director, Islamabad

Jan Goodwin, Director, Peshawar

International Rescue Committee

Thomas Yates, Director

All Deputy Directors, Program Managers  
and Field Staff

Afghan Refugee Groups

200 Members of Shuras from Paktia Province



## APPENDIX III

CITIZENS COMMISSION ON AFGHAN REFUGEES

Mr. Harold Anderson  
Publisher  
Omaha World Herald

Mr. Alain Boinet  
Solidarite Afghanistan  
Paris, France

Mr. Leo Cherne  
Chairman  
International Rescue Committee

The Hon. Robert Cranborne  
Former Chairman of Afghan Aid and Member of Parliament  
London, England

Mrs. Anne Whitehead Crawford  
IRC Board Member  
Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom  
New York

Dr. Nancy Hatch Dupree  
Director - ACBAR Resource Information Center, Pakistan  
Former Program Associate - Islamic & Arabian Development Studies  
Duke University  
Durham, North Carolina

The Hon. Theodore Eliot  
Former U.S. Ambassador to Afghanistan  
San Francisco, CA

Prof. Thomas E. Gouttierre  
Dean of International Studies and Programs  
University of Nebraska at Omaha and the  
University of Nebraska Medical Center

The Rev. Theodore Hesburgh  
President Emeritus  
Notre Dame University

The Hon. Winston Lord  
IRC Board Member  
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Former President of the Council on Foreign Relations  
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Mr. Toshio Okawara  
Keidaneren  
Japan Federation of Economic Organizations  
Tokyo, Japan

Mr. Lionel Olmer  
IRC Board Member  
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison  
Former Undersecretary for Commerce  
Washington, DC

Ms. Catherine O'Neill  
IRC Board Member  
Chairwoman, Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children  
International Monetary Fund  
Washington, DC

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IRC Board Member  
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Director of International Health and  
Division Chief for the World Health Organization's  
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Medical Branch in Galveston. Member of the Board of  
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Professor of Medicine at the School  
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Mrs. Lawrence Copley Thaw  
IRC Board Member  
New York

Ms. Liv. Ullmann  
IRC Board Member  
UNICEF Ambassador at Large

Mme. Simone Veil  
Former President of European Parliament  
Brussels, Belgium

Prof. Elie Wiesel  
IRC Board Member  
Boston University



Given these conditions and realities, the key observations and recommendations of the Commission are:

1. The United States should maintain its present level of commitment of humanitarian aid to the Afghans.

2. In the near term, repatriation of Afghan refugees should be approached on a sector by sector basis. Refugees should be encouraged to return to areas free of land mines and where self-sufficiency can be realized.

3. To this end, efforts to reconstruct and rehabilitate areas in Afghanistan should be encouraged, while at the same time the refugees in Pakistan and Iran need to be sustained in their exile and trained for return.

4. The Office of the United Nations Coordinator should be strengthened to help meet these objectives. In particular, effective de-mining programs must be implemented on a sector basis, with specific time frames for completion.

#### Background

On April 14, 1988, the United States, the Soviet Union, Afghanistan and Pakistan signed agreements in Geneva (the Geneva Accords) for the settlement of the "Afghan situation." These



accords provided for, inter alia, the voluntary return of more than 3.2 million Afghan refugees in Pakistan and more than 2 million Afghan refugees in Iran. The Afghans were and still are the world's largest refugee population.

One month after the Accords were signed, the Citizen's Commission on Afghan Refugees was created, under the auspices of the International Rescue Committee. Its establishment was motivated by a concern that the absence of superpower confrontation, occasioned by the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan, would diminish the commitment of the Western democracies towards the rehabilitation of Afghanistan and the return of the refugees to their homeland.

Expectations were high that the signing of the Geneva Accords would mean an end to the nine year old war, and that the monumental task of repatriation would begin within months. The feared loss of commitment was not solely based on financial concerns, but also on the belief that continued leadership would be required from the West, both to shape and to monitor the process by which the refugees would return to their country and rebuild their shattered lives and homeland.

The Citizens Commission on Afghan Refugees' first mission to Pakistan and Geneva began on May 28th, and returned June 8, 1988. A lengthy report was issued, putting forward over 20 specific



policy recommendations, including the need for international assistance for the repatriation and rehabilitation effort. Such assistance would be critical to provide sustenance for the refugees, care for their health, address the special needs of refugee women and children, and tackle the serious threat posed by the massive mining of Afghan territory.

This report was presented to high officials of the Department of State responsible for Afghan policy, to the Congress (a special hearing of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was held to receive the Commission's testimony and report) and other interested parties.

A second mission was dispatched on October 10, 1988, returning on October 19. This mission also released a lengthy report which, by and large, sustained and confirmed the findings of the first mission.

### The Findings of the Third Mission

Since the creation of the Citizens Commission on Afghan Refugees and this, its most recent mission, Soviet occupying forces have been withdrawn from Afghanistan. An interim government, comprising representation from major resistance party factions, has been established, and is based in Peshawar, Pakistan. A United Nations Coordinator for Afghanistan, Prince Sadrudin Aga



Khan, has been appointed, with a broad mandate to coordinate a massive relief, reconstruction, repatriation and rehabilitation effort in Afghanistan. His international appeal for support, including financial and "in-kind," has been received favorably, and programs have been initiated or expanded. However, two essential factors have not changed:

- 1) The regime in Kabul has not fallen, as was predicted.
- 2) There has been no significant return of the refugees to Afghanistan, either from Pakistan or Iran.

Thus, nearly two years after the signing of the Geneva Accords, peace has not returned to Afghanistan. In some respects, it seems more remote than before. There is a civil war in Afghanistan, with the Islamic Afghan Interim Government to date unable to achieve its goal of capturing a major city. (Jalalabad and Khost continue to be under siege). New refugees continue to come into Pakistan to escape the fighting (80,000 are estimated to have fled in 1989). The regime in Kabul shows signs of serious strains, as seen by the recent coup attempt which, paradoxically, allied the radical Communist Defence Minister, General Shah Nawaz Tanai in the Najeeb (Najibullah) regime, with the leader of the most radical of the Islamic fundamentalists in the Interim Government, Engineer Gulbuddin Hekmatyar. While the regime of Najeeb has not fallen, he has undoubtedly been further



weakened and further discredited by these recent events.

The still relatively new government in Pakistan of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto is itself faced with a host of internal factional problems, from the streets of Karachi to the plains of the Punjab, and, most recently, to the hills of Kashmir. The continued presence of over 3.2 million Afghan refugees, primarily in the North West Frontier Province and in Baluchistan, is seen by some as an increasing political, social and financial liability. The government of Pakistan's official policy, however, continues to be one of support for and commitment to the well being of the refugees.

There seems to be little prospect for any large scale, massive return of refugees in the immediate future. As noted above, new refugees are coming in. What repatriation there has been seems to have been spontaneous and limited to specific sectors free from fighting or the threat of massive numbers of land mines. It is reported that as many as 100,000 refugees may have voluntarily returned from Baluchistan to their homelands, primarily just across the border (the Durand Line), in Afghanistan.

In this atmosphere of stalemate and political maneuvering, the international aid effort is clearly in trouble. "Donor Fatigue" is a term used with increasing frequency by responsible officials and refugee workers. An unfortunate, if understandable,



competition for dwindling resources has arisen between programs (and implementing agencies) which focus on the care and maintenance needs of the refugees still in camps, the need to train and prepare Afghans for their return, and the need for extensive rehabilitation and reconstruction inside Afghanistan to create a secure and sustainable environment for repatriation.

The Islamic Afghan Interim Government has not become the leading force around which the resistance forces, which fought so heroically for a decade against the invader, could now coalesce to bring about peace and reconciliation. In fact, the perceived impotence of the Interim Government, and the outright defection of the most outspoken of its members, the Hezb-I Islami party of Hekmatyar, has damaged the Mujahadin cause in the eyes of the outside world, in particular the donor community.

With the withdrawal of Soviet forces and the increasingly evident serious strains within the Soviet Union, the security threat to the free world posed by the initial Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has sharply diminished in Western eyes, even though Soviet military and economic aid continues, and indeed has been stepped up. While the humanitarian needs of the refugees, and of Afghanistan itself, remain both urgent and compelling, the geopolitical aspects of the equation have decreased.

At the same time, in the interval between the signing of the



Geneva Accords and the Soviet troop withdrawal and today, the world we have known for the past 40 years has literally changed before our eyes. The events in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union call for fundamental reassessment of our national priorities, in particular the allocation of increasingly scarce resources. The chronic problem of budget deficits and the growing demands for attention to domestic problems are particularly compelling in the United States today. Added to this are recent developments in Central America, especially Panama and the assistance promised there, and the prospects for democratic evolution in Nicaragua following the recent elections. We cannot expect the Afghan cause to be as compelling to the United States or other Western countries, or as high on the priority list, as it may have been a year ago.

#### Recommendations of the Third Mission

An early, comprehensive resolution to the Afghan situation seems still to be elusive. In the meantime, however, continued humanitarian assistance to the Afghan refugees and the efforts to promote their return to their homeland, in peace and security, is essential. The decade long struggle of the Afghan people to rid themselves of the invaders, and the decade long commitment of the free world to assist in this effort, should not be abandoned now. We must not be viewed as having been concerned for the Afghans only as long as Soviet troops occupied their land. We must also

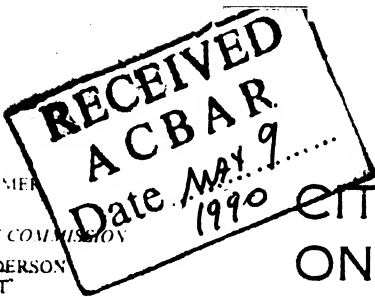


recognize that the heroic defense of freedom, which characterized the Afghan resistance, had a major impact on the world and, indirectly, helped bring about the recent events in Eastern Europe. Continued support for the Afghan refugees must be seen as well as a clear commitment to those sectors of the Islamic world concerned with democratic values.

With these concerns in mind, the Commission recommends the following:

1. United States leadership in helping Afghanistan and the Afghan people to regain their freedom is essential. If the United States falters in this effort, others are unlikely to pick up the slack. We need to maintain and sustain our present level of humanitarian aid. We do not believe it could, or should, realistically be increased substantially, given budgetary limitations and demands from other parts of the world - the Horn of Africa, Southern Africa, Southeast Asia, Central America, Eastern Europe, etc.
2. We recognize that the extraordinary events of 1989-1990, in Eastern Europe and Central America especially, hold out the promise of a more peaceful and secure world. We also recognize the severe limitations on the extent of the United States' ability to respond to all pressing humanitarian needs. However, we strongly recommend that, should newly developing situations or





LIONEL H. OLMER  
Chairman

MEMBERS OF COMMISSION

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## CITIZENS COMMISSION ON AFGHAN REFUGEES

CARE OF INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE, INC.

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April 17, 1990


Dear Colleague,

In early March the Citizens Commission on Afghan Refugees completed its third mission to Pakistan and the Afghan refugee camps. The delegation was chaired by Dr. James C. Strickler, former Dean of Dartmouth Medical School, and also included: Winston Lord, former U.S. Ambassador to China; Thomas Gouttierre, Dean of International Studies and Programs, University of Nebraska at Omaha; Dr. Abdul Sajid, Director of International Health and Division Chief for WHO at the University of Texas Medical Branch in Galveston; Nancy Hatch Dupree, Distinguished Scholar on Afghanistan; and Robert P. DeVecchi, Executive Director of the International Rescue Committee.

The group met with representatives of the Government of Pakistan, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), UN Coordinator of Humanitarian and Economic Assistance Programs for Afghans (UNOCA), U.S. Government officials, the Islamic Afghan Interim Government, private voluntary agencies and Afghan refugee groups. The delegation returned by way of Geneva in order to meet with the Special UN Coordinator, Price Sadruddin Aga Khan; the new UNHCR, Thorvald Stoltenberg; and the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations in Geneva, Morris Abram. On return to the U.S., the delegation briefed members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the House Foreign Affairs Committee and high officials in the Department of State and the Agency for International Development.

The enclosed copy of the delegation's report contains new observations and recommendations on the Afghan situation and concludes that aid to the refugees should be sustained at present levels. I hope you find it informative and helpful. Of course, any comments you care to make would be appreciated.

Sincerely,

  
Lionel H. Olmer  
Chairman



Enclosure

An independent committee of citizens formed with the assistance of the International Rescue Committee for study of the problems and policies affecting the refugees from Afghanistan.



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This report was prepared by the six participants in the Commission's Third fact-finding tour. (See appendix 2) Other members of the Commission (See appendix 3) have not had the opportunity to see this report, and thus should not be held accountable for its contents.